

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUTO 0754

EXDIS

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: GRAHAM/LOW MEETING WITH ZANU LEADERS

REF: MAPUTO 748

1. SUMMARY: MEETING WITH ZANU LEADERS HAD NO POSITIVE RESULTS, WITH MUGABE INSISTING THAT NEXT STEP IS GENRAL CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION. MUGABE SIAD HE DOES NOT SEE NEED FOR PREPATATORY CONFERENCES DEPSITE OUR REPEATED REMINDERS THAT THERE WAS NOT AGREEMENT AT DAR CONFERENCE OVER TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS. NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE BETWEEN PF AND UK, WITH SMITH OR OTHER INTERNAL SETTLEMENT LEADERS FORMING PART OF UK DELEGATION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT UK/ US ROLE IS NOT TO SERVE AS REFEREE BETWEEN PF AND INTERNAL LEADERS, BUT TO NEGOTIATE INDEPNENCE WITH PF. END SUMMARY.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MAPUTO 00754 161915Z

2. GRAHAM AND LOW ACCOMPANIED BY UK AND US AMBASSADORS MET OVER 90 MINUTES WITH ZANU PRESIDENT ROBERT MUGABE VICE PRESIDENT SIMON MUZENDA, SECRETARY FOR DEFENSE JOSIAH TONGOGARA, SECRETARY FOR WOMENS AFFAIRS TEIRUA ROPA. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER RICHARD HOVE, AND MAPUTO ZAPU OFFICE DIRECOTR THOMAS MADLALA. THERE

WAS A FRANK EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BUT WE WERE UNABLE TO MAKE ANY PROGRESS TOWARD GETTING MUGABE TO AGREE TO MEETINGS AT WORKING LEVEL ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE OR CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

3. GRAHAM/LOW OUTLINED RESULTS OF TALKS IN SALISBURY AND NOTED THAT CURRENT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ACCEPTS IN PRINCIPLE AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE, BUT NOT ONE WHICH THEY BELIEVE WILL FAIL. GRAHAM/ LOW SAID THAT THERE IS SOME WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF WORKING LEVEL MEETINGS WITH LITTLE OR NO PUBLICITY BETWEEN EC PARTIES, US/UK, AND PF TO DISCUSS SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. MUGABE SAID HIS UNDERSTANDING AFTER THE DAR MEETING WAS THAT SALISBURY SUPPORT WOULD BE SOUTH FOR A GENERAL CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION. HE INSISTED THAT ADDITION OF THREE BLACKS DOES NOT MAKE INTERNAL REGIME ANY LESS ILLEGAL THAN SMITH REGIME. MUGABE REPEATEDLY STRESS THAT NEXT STEP IS FULL CONFERENCE WITHOUT NEED FOR PREPARATORY MEETINGS. GRAHAM/ LOW EMPHASIZED THAT THEY WISHED TO AVOID ANOTHER GENEVA AND THERE ARE ANY NUMBER OF ISSUES TO BE WORKED OUT BEFORE A GENERAL CONFERENCE, ADDING THAT IT NOT UK/US UNDERSTANDING THAT GENERAL CONFERENCE WOULD ONLY DISCUSS CONSTITUTION. MUGABE SAID HE PREFERS TO SET DATE FOR A GENERAL CONFERENCE WITHOUT REGARD TO PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS. HE STATED THAT HE SUPPORTS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MAPUTO 00754 161915Z

ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSALS. GRAHAM/LOW ASKED IF THIS MEANT HE DID NOT COMPLETELY RULE OUT PRELIMINARY TALKS WITH OTHER GROUPS, AND HE EQUIVOCATED BY SAYING IT IMPORTANT TO FIRST AGREE ON CONFERENCE AND THEN WORK ON DETAILS.

4 GRAHAM STRESSED THAT THERE WAS NOT AGREEMENT AT DAR ON TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS. IF EFFECT, THE PF'S POSITION ON THE TRANSITION WAS SO DIFFERENT FROM THE ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSAL THAT MUCH WORK MUST BE DONE TO FIND AGREEMENT. MUGABE NOTED THAT HE IS BECOMING IMPATIENT WITH MEETINGS WHICH HAVE NO RESULT AND RAISE FALSE EXPECTATIONS. ARGUING THAT THE PF'S POSITIONS ARE CONSISTENT, MUGABE HELD TO THE LINE THAT DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE HELD AT HIGH LEVEL BETWEEN UK AND PF, WHETHER OR NOT INTERNAL SETTLEMENT LEADERS CHOSE TO ATTEND, AND IF THE TWO SIDES CAN AGREE THEN WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO SWEEP SMITH ASIDE.

5. GRAHAM/LOW POINTED OUT THAT WHILE SMITH WAS ONCE ISOLATED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT HAS GIVEN HIM AND THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SUPPORT WITHIN RHODESIA. IT IS

NOT POSSIBLE TO COMPLETELY DISCUSS THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. AS IT CONTAINS POSITION FEATURES SUCH AS ONE MAN, NO VOTE. GRAHAM/LOW STRESSED THAT WE ARE NOT REGRESSING FROM ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSAL AND SAID WE ARE TRYING TO AVOID ELECTIONS TALKING PLACE WHILE THE MILITARY CONFLICT CONTINUES.

6. GRAHAM STATED THAT OWEN AND CALLAGHAN HAVE STATED THAT IF FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS ARE HELD RHODESIA, UK WOULD RECONGIZE THE OUTCOME. WHETHER FAVORABLE OR NOT FOR THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. MUGABE SAID THIS WAS NEWS TO HIM AND ASKED HOW WE WOULD KNOW IF ELECTION WAS FAIR IF WE NOT PRESENT AND WHAT CRITERIA WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MAPUTO 00754 161915Z

USED TO JUDGE QUALITY OF ELECTIONS. GRAHAM/LOW SAID THAT CRITERIA WOULD HAVE TO BE DETERMINED AT THE TIME AND STRESSED US/UK WILL NOT PARTICIPATION IN ANY ELECTION HELD UNDER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. AT CLOSE OF MEETING BOTH SIDES EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE.
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